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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MCAP, NATO

SUBJECT: NATO MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE

REF: A. USNATO 6965; B. USNATO 7094; C. STATE 3477

1. WE DO NOT INTEND TO MAKE FURTHER REVISIONS OR ADDITIONS TO US DRAFT PAPER ON MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE. FOCUS WILL NOW BE ON LANGUAGE OF THE DRC DRAFT GUIDANCE.

2. WITH THE ADJUSTMENTS TO THE US APPROACH SPELLED
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OUT BY SECRETARY SCHLESINGER AT THE DPC MINISTERIAL

MEETING, DRC SHOULD BE ABLE TO ACHIEVE EARLY AGREEMENT ON DRAFT MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE. THE DRAFT SHOULD MEET THE FOLLOWING POINTS, INTER ALIA.

A. THE NATO TRIAD SHOULD RECEIVE PROMINENT TREATMENT. GUIDANCE SHOULD ELIMINATE ANY UNDERTAINTY CONCERNING US COMMITMENT OF THE STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCES AND THEATER NUCLEAR CAPABILITIES FOR NATO. LANGUAGE SHOULD REFLECT THE COMMON POSITION WITH REGARD TO THE NATO TRIAD THAT EACH LEG OF THE TRIAD (CONVENTIONAL FORCES, THEATER NUCLEAR FORCES, AND THE STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCES) HAS A UNIQUE ROLE TO PLAY; THAT THERE IS A SYNERGISTIC EFFECT, A MUTUAL SUPPORT AMONG THESE VARIOUS COMPONENTS OF THE FORCE STRUCTURE; THAT

WHILE THE VARIOUS LEGS OF THE TRIAD SUPPLEMENT AND MUTUALLY SUPPORT EACH OTHER, THEY ARE NOT SUBSTITUTES FOR EACH OTHER.

B. COVERAGE OF THE TAC NUC LEG OF THE NATO TRIAD SHOULD BE EXPANDED TO GIVE A CLEAR PICTURE OF THE CONTRIBUTION AND IMPORTANCE OF TAC NUC CAPABILITY IN DETERRENCE AND DEFENSE. THE NEED FOR A STRONG THEATER NUCLEAR POSTURE IN WESTERN EUROPE IS DRIVEN BY THE OBVIOUS FACT THAT THE WARSAW PACT POSSESSES A TACTICAL NUCLEAR POSTURE. GUIDANCE SHOULD NOTE US INTENTION, IN CONSULTATION WITH NATO NATIONS AND WITH NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES AS APPROPRIATE, TO INCREASE THE MILITARY UTILITY AND INVULNERABILITY OF THE NATO NUCLEAR WEAPONS STOCKPILE (WE ENVISAGE EMPHASIS ON MODERNIZATION AND POSSIBLE ADJUSTMENT OF THE STOCKPILE IN LINE WITH CHANGES IN WEAPONS SYSTEMS, TECHNOLOGIES, TACTICS, LOGISTICS, AND IN THE THREAT, AND MEASURES FOR IMPROVED INVULNERABILITY, COMMAND AND CONTROL, AND SECURITY) IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN STRONG NUCLEAR SUPPORT TO NATO DEFENSE.

C. THE WEAKEST LEG OF THE TRIAD HAS BEEN THE CONVENTIONAL FORCES. OUR OBJECTIVE REMAINS THAT OF GREATER EMPHASIS TOWARD ACHIEVING A STALWART
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CONVENTIONAL CAPABILITY, ONE WHICH WILL CARRY ITS PROPER WEIGHT IN THE NATO TRIAD.

D. GUIDANCE SHOULD REFLECT EXPANDED COVERAGE OF DEFENSE OF THE FLANKS, CONSIDERING THE UNIQUE REQUIREMENTS OF THE FLANKS. THESE MUST BE EVALUATED AND DEALT WITH ON THEIR OWN MERITS AND NOT CONSIDERED AS NECESSARILY FALLING WITHIN THE

DOCTRINAL THINKING PERTAINING TO THE CENTRAL REGION.

E. WE HOPE TO SEE A STRONG EMPHASIS IN THE FINAL DRAFT DOCUMENT ON REGIONAL FORCE PLANNING, RATIONALIZATION WITHIN REGIONS, AND REGIONAL REVIEWS OF DEFENSE PLANS.

3. WE BELIEVE MISSION NOW HAS ADEQUATE GUIDANCE FOR SPRING TASK OF PREPARING FINAL DRAFT GUIDANCE FOR MINISTERIAL REVIEW AND ADOPTION IN JUNE 1975 AND ARE CONFIDENT OF MISSION ABILITY TO ACHIEVE A USEFUL PRODUCT. HOWEVER TASK OF FOLLOW-THROUGH ON GUIDANCE, ONCE IT IS PROMULGATED, WILL OFFER MUCH MORE DIFFICULTY UNLESS WE BEGIN NOW TO PREPARE FOR IMPLEMENTATION.

4. GUIDANCE WILL CALL FOR ADDITIONAL DEFENSE EFFORTS, RIGOROUS PRIORITIES IN SETTING OBJECTIVES FOR IMPROVEMENTS AND IN THE SUBSEQUENT ALLOCATION OF FUNDS, GREATER FLEXIBILITY IN THE USE OF FORCES, AND MUCH GREATER EFFORT OF ALL NATIONS IN THE FIELD OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION FOR COST-EFFECTIVENESS (RATIONALIZATION, STANDARDIZATION, COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS).

A. ON DEFENSE EFFORT, MINISTERS ARE AWARE OF THE CONTINUING NEED FOR INCREASE IN DEFENSE EXPENDITURES IN REAL TERMS.

B. WITH REGARD TO DETERMINATION OF PRIORITIES FOR FORCE IMPROVEMENTS AND FLEXIBILITY IN THE USE OF AVAILABLE FORCES, WE LOOK TO THE NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES FOR FOLLOW-UP, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF MILITARY COMMITTEE, AND WHERE APPROPRIATE, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT REGIONAL ASPECTS. WE LOOK TO COUNTRIES

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TO FOLLOW NATO PRIORITIES IN ALLOCATION OF FUNDS FOR IMPROVING THEIR FORCES.

C. WHILE THE US HAS TAKEN MOST OF THE LEAD IN URGING RATIONALIZATION OF THE NATO DEFENSE EFFORT AND GREATER INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN THE NATO DEFENSE EFFORT, MINISTERS HAVE TIME AND AGAIN ACCEPTED THESE PRINCIPLES. WE LOOK TO EACH COUNTRY TO JOIN IN IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THE LONG-TERM PLAN FOR NATO AS IT BEST CAN. MISSION SHOULD MAKE CLEAR THAT MOVEMENT TOWARDS GREATER COOPERATION SHOULD NOT DEPEND ENTIRELY ON US INITIATIVES, BUT CAN BE FOSTERED BY ANY GROUP OF NATO COUNTRIES WHICH FINDS IMPROVED COST-EFFECTIVENESS THROUGH COOPERATION. WE ARE ENCOURAGED BY THE PROGRESS AND THE CONTINUED

INTEREST IN RATIONALIZATION AND STANDARDIZATION AMONG THE EUROPEAN MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE AND BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN MEMBERS AND THOSE OF NORTH AMERICA. IN OUR VIEW THE SERIOUS WORK BEING CARRIED ON IN THE EURO TRAINING/NATO TRAINING GROUP STANDS AS A MODEL FOR WORK IN OTHER FIELDS WHICH MIGHT BE APPROPRIATE FOR RATIONALIZATION AND STANDARDIZATION. US WILL JOIN IN COOPERATIVE EFFORTS WHERE CIRCUMSTANCES PERMIT AND WILL SUBMIT PROPOSALS WHEN IT CAN IDENTIFY USEFUL FIELDS FOR COST-EFFECTIVE COOPERATION. STANDARDIZATION IS A TWO-WAY STREET IN WHICH ALL CAN GAIN, FOR EXAMPLE, THROUGH IMPROVED COOPERATION AND BETTER USE OF COLLECTIVE R AND D ACTIVITIES. WE WILL NOT NEED THE LARGE NUMBER OF DUPLICATIVE DEVELOPMENTS THAT NATO NATIONS HAVE UNDER WAY. US SELECTION OF A EUROPEAN SHORAD WEAPON, ROLAND II, IS EVIDENCE OF US APPLICATION

OF THIS PRINCIPLE.

5. FYI: SINCE WE ARE PLACING GREATER EMPHASIS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROGRAMS OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION, WE PROPOSE ENLARGED SCOPE OF MISSION EFFORTS TO IDENTIFY AREAS OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION (AS DEFINED ABOVE) IN WHICH US COULD CONSIDER PARTICIPATION OR IN WHICH US COULD CONSIDER TAKING THE INITIATIVE. PRINCIPAL OBSTACLES TO NATO
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COOPERATION IN PAST SEEM TO HAVE BEEN LARGELY POLITICAL (INCLUDING PROTECTION OF NATIONAL DEFENSE INDUSTRIES). MISSION VANTAGE POINT IN POLITICAL ASPECTS OF DEFENSE SHOULD PLACE IT IN A PREFERRED POSITION. WE RECOGNIZE THIS AS A MAJOR SHIFT IN EMPHASIS IN DEFENSE TASKS OF MISSION AND WOULD WELCOME MISSION VIEWS ON THIS, TO INCLUDE POSSIBLE NEED FOR SOME REORGANIZATION.
END FYI.

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